

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 SCA-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01

EB-07 CU-02 BIB-01 AS-01 /087 W
----- 002072

P R 111439Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1108 PRIORITY

INFO AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

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USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 8097

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT UR

SUBJECT: KGB CHIEF SPEAKS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, DISSENT, AND EAST-WEST
INFORMATION FLOW

1. SUMMARY: KGB CHIEF AND POLITBURO MEMBER YURIY ANDROPOV, IN
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HIS ELECTION SPEECH OF JUNE 9 GAVE A FORTHRIGHT EXPOSITION OF

SOVIET NEGATIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS AND DISSENT AND ON CONTACTS AND INFORMATION FLOW BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. HE REJECTED THE RIGHT OF DISSENT FROM THE ACCEPTED LINE WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND PORTRAYED THOSE IN THE WEST PUSHING FOR A FREER FLOW OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS AS TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND PORTRAYED THOSE IN THE WEST PUSHING FOR A FREER FLOW OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS AS TRYING TO UNDERMINE THE SOVIET SYSTEM WITH "SUBVERSIVE", BOURGEOIS IDEOLOGY. HE IN EFFECT EXCLUDED HUMANITARIAN AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES FROM DETENTE AND SCORNE THOSE WHO VIEW THESE AS PLAYING AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE WEST'S ABILITY TO PROMOTE AND SUPPORT THE PROCESS. OTHER SPEECHES IN THE CURRENT "ELECTION" CAMPAIGN HAVE AVOIDED THESE ISSUES, AND IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE MAN IN CHARGE OF INTERNAL SECURITY IN THE LEADERSHIP SHOULD ADVANCE SUCH VIEWS. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE CLEARLY HAS NOT STRAYED VERY FAR FROM THE GENERAL OPINION HELD BY MOST OF THE LEADERSHIP ON THIS QUESTION, PROBABLY INCLUDING BREZHNEV. HIS EXPOSITION UNDOUBTEDLY LENDS STRENGTH TO THE NOTION IN THE WEST THAT SOVIET COMMITMENTS ON BASKET THREE-TYPE ISSUES ARE AT BEST DECEPTIVE AND AT WORST CYNICAL. END SUMMARY.

2. ANDROPOV ATTACKED WESTERN "ENEMIES" WHO QUESTION THE QUALITY OF SOVIET "DEMOCRACY" AND CLAIM INFRINGEMENTS OF CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. WHILE DECLARING THE EXISTENCE OF "BROAD DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS" IN THE COUNTRY, HE SAID THEIR ENJOYMENT SHOULD BE LIMITED TO THOSE CITIZENS "WHOSE INTERESTS COINCIDE WITH THE INTERESTS OF SOCIETY", AND HE MAKES IT CLEAR THE IT IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP THAT INTERPRETS WHAT THOSE INTERESTS ARE -- IN OTHER WORDS, COMPLETE FREEDOM FOR THOSE WHO GO ALONG WITH THE SYSTEM. ANDROPOV LEFT NO ROOM FOR EXPRESSION OF DISSENT BY TELLING THOSE WHO DO NOT TOE THE LINE, "WE SAY DIRECTLY THAT PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE INTERESTS OF THE ENTIRE SOCIETY AND OF ALL WORKERS, AND WE CONSIDER THIS ENTIRELY JUST."

3. ANDROPOV SAID THAT "DEMOCRACY" IS NOT ONLY MADE UP OF RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS BUT ALSO OF "OBLIGATIONS" AND "STRICT DISCIPLINE" AND HE CLAIMED THAT THE MASSES THEMSELVES WANT LAW AND ORDER AND ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF "SOCIALIST MORALITY." HE EMPHASIZED THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS IN

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THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND SCORNFULLY DECLARED THAT THE PROBLEMS OF MILLIONS OF UNEMPLOYED IN THE WEST ARE NOT MITIGATED BY THE FACT THAT THEY CAN EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE OR IN HYDE PARK.

4. ANDROPOV ALSO HAD A NUMBER OF CHOICE WORDS FOR THOSE IN THE WEST ARGUING FOR THE FREER FLOW OF INFORMATION AND IDEAS. HE TIED SUCH CONCEPTS DIRECTLY TO WESTERN ATTEMPTS TO UNDERMINE

THE "ECONOMIC AND DEFENSE POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION." ANDROPOV ATTACKED THE "ENEMIES OF DETENTE" FOR THEIR METHODS OF "IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION" WHICH ARE ALLEGEDLY AIMED AT BRING "CAPITALISTIC MORALS AND CUSTOMS" INTO THE COUNTRY AND SPARKING "ANTI-SOCIAL, ANTI-SOCIALIST OCCURRENCES." THE FACT THAT THESE "ENEMIES" MASK THEIR AIMS BY EXPRESSING THEIR INTEREST IN "DEMOCRATIZING" SOCIALISM SEEMS TO MAKE THEM EVEN MORE DANGEROUS IN ANDROPOV'S VIEW, FOR THEIR TRUE GOAL IS TO "UNDERMINE SOVIET POWER FROM WITHIN AND LIQUIDATE THE VICTORIES OF SOCIALISM."

5. ANDROPOV THEN MADE A STRONG DEFENSE OF THE NEED FOR CONTINUING UNINTERRUPTED THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND MAKING IT IRREVERSIBLE. HOWEVER, HE SEEMED TO LIMIT DETENTE TO THE NEED TO AVOID NUCLEAR WAR. UNDER CONDITIONS OF PEACE, AS HE DEFINES THEM, THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST WILL BRING ABOUT BENEFITS FOR THE SOVIET UNION DOMESTICALLY AND STRENGTHEN "THE WORLD SOCIALIST SYSTEM AND THOSE FORCES FIGHTING FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS." HE CALLED "ABSURD", HOWEVER, THE CLAIMS OF SOME IN THE WEST THAT DETENTE IS BRINGING ONE-SIDED BENEFITS TO THE SOVIETS.

6. COMMENT: ANDROPOV'S EXPOSITION COULD BE EXPECTED FROM THE MAN WHO IS MOST INTERESTED IN INTERNAL SECURITY AND WARDING OFF THE EFFECTS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE WHICH COME ABOUT AS A RESULT OF CLOSER SOVIET CONTACTS WITH THE WEST. BECAUSE OF HIS POSITION, HE HAS BEEN GIVEN THE TASK OF PLAYING THE HEAVY, ALTHOUGH HIS VIEWS CLEARLY REFLECT THE GENERAL OPINION HELD BY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP. ANDROPOV DECLARED WESTERN IDEAS TABOO IN THE USSR, BUT HE AVOIDED COMMENT ON THE CHANNELS OF TRANSMISSION OF FOREIGN IDEAS, UNLIKE MANY PREVIOUS SOVIET WRITINGS ON THIS SUBJECT. IN THIS, HE WAS PROBABLY GUIDED BY THE REQUIREMENTS OF SOVIET DIPLOMACY IN THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS. WHAT HE HAS SAID, OF COURSE, WILL LEND STRENGTH TO THE POSITIONS OF WESTERN DOUBTERS OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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VALUE OF THE CSCE NEGOTIATIONS, WHO SEE SOVIET COMMITMENTS ON BASKET THREE-TYPE ISSUES AS EMPTY PROMISES WHICH THE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WILL INTERPRET AND MANIPULATE AS IT SEES FIT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ELECTION RESULTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 JUN 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975MOSCOW08097
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750203-0999
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750661/aaaacdpa.tel
Line Count: 158
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <09 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <22 SEP 2003 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KGB CHIEF SPEAKS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, DISSENT, AND EAST-WEST INFORMATION FLOW
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, UR, (ANDROPOV, YURIY)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006